

## DIPANAGARA (1787?-1855)

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Dipanagara is too well known to students of Indonesian history to need introduction. Yet in spite of the amount of attention he has received, a certain cloud of ambiguity seems to hang about the man and his motives. Thus, de Klerck, who completed Louw's work *De Java-oorlog*<sup>1</sup> has written: "Dipa Negara had counted upon his accession. He was therefore bitterly disappointed, and as disappointment is often synonymous with shame in the minds of natives, it sometimes leads to despair and even to crime. This was to be the case with Dipa Negara. . . ." <sup>2</sup> Elsewhere, however, de Klerck has claimed: "There is not a stitch of evidence to prove his dissatisfaction with the course of events, nor did he make any appeal to the Government. He seemed to have a real preference for a life of retirement, in which he could devote himself to meditation." <sup>3</sup> This inconsistency is perhaps an extreme example, but it does illustrate well the lack of any definitive interpretation of this period and its personalities. But answering the unresolved questions will be a formidable task in view of the enormous amount of material to be examined. The quantity of Dutch-language material is evident from Louw's magnum opus, and the number of Javanese works dealing with the events of the period can be seen in Pigeaud's *Literature of Java*.<sup>4</sup> Louw does use both Javanese and Dutch material, but a more detailed comparison of the differences between the main Javanese accounts would certainly be interesting.

The two best-known Javanese accounts of the period are the so-called *Buku Kedung Kebo*, written by the Regent of Purwardja, Tjakranagara, who fought on the side of the Dutch government against Dipanagara in the Java War,<sup>5</sup> and Dipanagara's own account, written in Menado (Minahassa) during his exile.<sup>6</sup> Louw uses this autobiographical *Babad Dipanagara*, sections of which he translates in their entirety, with other passages paraphrased and parts he regards as unimportant omitted. He also makes occasional references to the *Buku Kedung Kedo* (which he refers to as the *Babad Tjakranegara*).

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1. P.J.F. Louw, *De Java-oorlog*, 6 vols. (Batavia: Landsdrukkerij, 1894-1909).
  2. E.S. de Klerck, *History of the Netherlands East Indies*, (Rotterdam: W.L. & J. Brusse, 1938), II, p. 47.
  3. *Ibid.*, p. 157.
  4. Th. Pigeaud, *Literature of Java*, 3 vols. (The Hague: M. Nijhoff, 1967-1970).
  5. See Pigeaud, *Literature of Java*, I, pp. 167-168, and II, pp. 35, 78 and 869.
  6. *Ibid.*, I, pp. 167-168, and II, p. 392.

The extract translated here is from the autobiographical *Babad Dipanagara*, for which I have used a text printed (in the Javanese script) by Albert Rusche of Surakarta in 1917.<sup>7</sup> It is obviously very close to the text paraphrased by Louw, and I have found his work very useful. Most of the differences between these texts are minor but some are significant: for example, in Louw's text Dipanagara's father is shown to favor the succession of his younger son, while in the printed text this preference is not clear.<sup>8</sup>

Probably the greatest difficulty in understanding the events described in this extract is that our interpretation of Dipanagara's motives and reactions is dependent upon the interpretation of a series of prior events, which in turn hinges upon some rather disputable factors--sometimes upon text readings, and sometimes upon the implications which may be read into the text. For example, Louw sees in Dipanagara's description of the conflict between his father and his grandfather indications that Dipanagara himself was attempting to manipulate the course of events to ensure his own succession. However, not everyone would agree with this interpretation, and Louw's rationalization of Dipanagara's attitude at successive stages,<sup>9</sup> based on considerations of Javanese *adat*, is not entirely convincing. Nor is it only the Javanese sources which present difficulties. One of the most important factors in assessing Dipanagara's motives is the promise said to have been made to him by Raffles, and this remains problematic because of the lack of concrete evidence.<sup>10</sup>

A brief resumé of the main events of Dipanagara's life before the events described in the extract may be useful. In about 1787, the grandson of the first Sultan of Jogjakarta, Amangkubuwana I (Sultan Swargi) had a son by a wife of lower rank. This son, Dipanagara, was largely brought up under the care of his great-grandmother, the Sultan's wife, who bore the title Ratu Ageng. When his grandfather, Amangkubuwana II (Sultan Sepuh), succeeded to the throne in 1792, the Ratu Ageng and Dipanagara lived at Tegalredja, northwest of Jogjakarta in the Magelang region. Here, under the Ratu Ageng's guidance Dipanagara first became seriously concerned with religion, a concern which was to remain with him and acquire a mystical character. In 1810, Amangkubuwana II incurred the disfavor of Daendels (Governor-General of Java, 1808-1811) to such an extent that he was deposed in favor of his son, Amangkubuwana III (Kangdjeng Radja), Dipanagara's father. When, however, the Dutch government lost Java to the English, Amangkubuwana II took the opportunity to resume the reins of government, and in fact went so far as to have his Patih, Danuredja (II), put to death for having countenanced this deposition. Dipanagara's father remained heir-apparent, but Amangkubuwana II hoped to replace him in this position by a more favored son, Mangkudiningrat. This gives some indication of the atmosphere of Jogjakarta at the time of Raffles' arrival on December 27, 1811. Raffles accepted Amangkubuwana II's resumption

7. It was apparently first printed in 1909. *Ibid.*, II, p. 392.

8. Cf. Louw, *De Java-oorlog*, I, p. 103 and *Babad Diponagoro*, (Surakarta: Albert Rusche, 1917), I, p. 27.

9. Louw, *De Java-oorlog*, I, pp. 109-112.

10. See footnote 52 of the translated text.

of the throne, and a treaty was concluded between Jogjakarta and the British government. The treaty, however, was soon broken, and in June 1812 General Gillespie marched on the *kraton*. Amangkubuwana II was deposed for the second time and exiled to Penang. Dipanagara's father was restored.

In November 1814, Amangkubuwana III died. He was succeeded not by his elder son, Dipanagara, but by the thirteen year-old Mas Ambjah, whose mother was the Sultan's queen. He became Sultan Amangkubuwana IV (Sultan Djarot). This succession was in accordance with established custom: in the *Babad*, Dipanagara says that the English (specifically "Djan Kerapet," that is, the Resident of Jogjakarta, John Crawford) had offered to make him heir-apparent when they restored his father, but that he refused on account of Mas Ambjah's stronger claim.<sup>11</sup> However, there is enough evidence to suggest that Dipanagara had been promised the throne if his brother died while still a minor or after having conducted himself improperly.

Amangkubuwana IV did in fact die while still a minor in 1822; however, he was succeeded not by Dipanagara but by his three year-old son, under a Regency council, of which Dipanagara was a member. The explanation usually given for this succession is that the restored Dutch government was ignorant of any promise made during the British interregnum, as well they might have been, since both Dipanagara and a Dutch contemporary assert that the relevant document was burnt by those whose interests ran counter to his. It appears, however, that Dipanagara, himself, could have made no effort to inform the Dutch of this promise.

Three years later Dipanagara broke completely with the government of Jogjakarta and the Java War began.

### The Text

The following extract consists of a short piece on his youthful religious life (pp. 1-5 of the printed text) and a much longer section covering the period from the accession to the throne of Amangkubuwana IV up until the opening scene of the war (pp. 79-112 of the printed text). The intervening passage, though interesting, has been omitted because of its length. It describes the following events:

- the arrival of Daendels at Jogjakarta (p. 6);
- the revolt of Radèn Ranga Prawiradirdja of Madiun (to p. 10);
- Daendels' replacement of Amangkubuwana II (Sultan Sepuh) by his son (Kangdjeng Radja) (p. 11);
- the arrival of Raffles and defeat of the Dutch under Janssens (p. 12);
- the execution of the Patih, Danuredja (II), on the orders of Sultan Sepuh (p. 13);
- the abdication of Kangdjeng Radja, on the advice of his son Dipanagara, in favor of Sultan Sepuh (pp. 19-22);
- further moves against Dipanagara's father (p. 24);
- negotiations with the English Resident, John Crawford, on his behalf (p. 28);

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11. Babad Diponagoro, p. 38.

Raffles' arrival at Jogjakarta (p. 29);  
 Sultan Sepuh's decision to seek an alliance with Surakarta  
 against the English (p. 32);  
 Raffles' decision to depose Sepuh and replace him by  
 Kangdjeng Radja (p. 37);  
 Dipanagara's refusal to become his father's heir-apparent,  
 on account of the prior claim of his younger half-  
 brother, Mas Ambjah (p. 38);  
 the signing of the agreements with Raffles (pp. 41-42);  
 the English attack on the kraton (pp. 43-49);  
 the installation of Kangdjeng Radja as Sultan, with Mas Ambjah  
 as Crown Prince (p. 53);  
 the marriage of Dipanagara, which took place five years after  
 the above events and forms rather a nice vignette  
 (pp. 63-75);  
 the death of the Sultan, leaving Dipanagara to care for Mas  
 Ambjah, who is to succeed (pp. 76-77);  
 the circumcision and marriage of the young Sultan (Amangkubuwana IV), the account of the former presenting an interesting sidelight on the Resident's life at Jogjakarta (p. 79).

#### Note on the Translation

I have tried to present a translation as close as possible to the original and have generally followed the Javanese original line for line. I have noted any places where the order of the lines has been altered. Amplifications necessary for the sense appear in square brackets, and I apologize for the plethora of these; poetry, and especially poetry where the metric requirements concerning the number of syllables per line are strictly observed, is rarely as explicit as prose. Footnotes, especially in the numbers found here, impose something of a burden on the attention of the reader. Nevertheless, he is asked to refer to them, since otherwise the text can be hard to follow; for instance, the title Ratu Ageng was borne by three different women during the period covered by the extract. The Javanese original is written in the third person, which quite commonly replaces the first person in *tembang* verse, and I have retained this in the translation.

#### THE TEXT IN TRANSLATION

p. 1     Let the meter of this first part be Sinom,<sup>1</sup>  
           serving our purpose of honoring  
           the work written by the Noblest of Men,  
           famed throughout the land of Java,  
           that is  
           the exalted Prince Dipanagara,  
           now departed,

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1. This work is written in tembang matjapat, and Sinom is one of its meters. It is considered appropriate for describing scenes of youth because of its association with nom (young).

recording his own story,  
beginning from the time when he began to give himself up to  
the practice of religion.

We tell of his great-grandmother,  
the Ratu Ageng.  
She lived at Tegalredja<sup>2</sup>  
and after the death of his great-grandfather<sup>3</sup>  
she remained at that place.  
The Prince grew ever more devoted  
to matters of religion,  
and it was his wish to protect  
all his servants and followers, so that their hearts might be  
at ease.

It seems it was the will of God  
that Prince Dipanagara  
desired only to join  
his great-grandmother  
in devotion to religion,  
and so he came to be at variance  
with his grandfather, the Sultan,<sup>4</sup>  
and seldom visited the capital,  
except at the Garebeg<sup>5</sup> celebrations, when his presence was  
required.

Even though he was forced  
to incur such a great sin<sup>6</sup>  
out of fear of this grandfather  
and of his father,<sup>7</sup>  
p. 2 yet in his own heart  
he thought only of his religion.  
Now at Tegalredja,  
during the reign of his grandfather,  
there were many who strictly observed the commandments of  
their religion<sup>8</sup>

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2. The text has "Tegalardja" throughout, but I have used the more common orthography.
  3. Sultan Amangkubuwana I (Sultan Swargi), the first Sultan of Jogjakarta.
  4. Sultan Amangkubuwana II, usually called Sultan Sepuh.
  5. There are three Garebeg celebrations: the Garebeg Mulud, on the twelfth day of the third lunar, commemorating Mohammad's birth and death; the Garebeg on the tenth day of Sawal, celebrating the end of the fast and sometimes called Lebaran Puwasa; and the Garebeg of the tenth day of the twelfth month (that is, the month of the pilgrimage).
  6. Attendance at the Garebeg celebrations would not, of course, itself be a sin; presumably the reference is to the accompanying festivities and their taint of worldliness.
  7. His father was the son of Sultan Sepuh and was the Crown Prince.
  8. The text reads ibadah (to be strict in the performance of one's religious obligations, in particular of the commandment to perform five daily prayers).

and many who performed asceticism.  
 The Prince  
 changed his name<sup>9</sup>  
 when he journeyed through the countryside,  
 calling himself Sheik Ngabdurahkim.<sup>10</sup>  
 At the capital  
 he was "Prince Dipanagara,"  
 so he had two names.  
 At that time he had reached his twentieth year.

His only pleasure  
 was in leading the life of a fakir,  
 and he was constantly mindful,  
 both day and night,  
 of how little time we have in this world,  
 and so his heart served  
 the First of Souls.<sup>11</sup>  
 But his human character was an impediment,  
 and he was often tempted by women.

Whenever he was mindful  
 of the purpose of our creation  
 he would journey through the countryside  
 visiting the mosques.  
 There he would be one with  
 the multitude of the *santri*,  
 and lead a life of great asceticism.  
 He went in disguise,  
 so that it was seldom that anyone knew him.

If he was recognized  
 by the teacher of the *santri*  
 Sheik Ngabdurahkim would leave,  
 for he desired only  
 to be one of the ordinary *santri*,  
 one of the poor and lowly  
 at the mosque schools,  
 and so he went from one to another.  
 When he did not want to be at the mosque schools he would  
 go to the jungles,

to the mountains and ravines, cliffs and caves,  
 or sometimes follow the coastline.  
 During the fast month  
 he would sit in a deserted cave.  
 Now we tell  
 that it was beneath a tamarind tree,  
 where Sheik Ngabdurahkim  
 was sitting in a lonely cave.  
 When midnight had passed God sent him a trial.

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9. The two lines are reversed in the translation.

10. The Javanese form of the Arabic Abdu'l-Rahim.

11. The text reads purbaning Suksma (that is, God).

Apparitions in a multitude of shapes  
 came to try him.  
 Now Sheik Ngabdurahkim  
 was not distracted from his concentration  
 and his inner gaze was still upon the All-Disposer.  
 The apparitions disappeared  
 and then came  
 someone who stood before him,  
 a man with a radiance like that of the full moon.

His name was Hjang Djatimulja,<sup>12</sup>  
 and he was Sunan Kali<sup>13</sup> in reality.  
 Sheik Ngabdurahkim looked at him in amazement.<sup>14</sup>  
 He said quietly:  
 "Oh Ngabdurahkim,  
 God has determined  
 that in time to come  
 you will be a king." He gave this warning and disappeared  
 from sight.

After the disappearance of the revered Pandita  
 Ngabdurahkim was left uneasy  
 and exceedingly amazed,  
 so that he did not continue with his devotions,  
 leaving that place in the morning.  
 He went straight to the mountains,  
 thinking nothing of the dangers around him.  
 He had no concern for his physical body  
 thinking only of God's love.

He went deep into the jungle,  
 climbed mountains and descended into ravines.  
 He journeyed to no destination,  
 being exceedingly perplexed of heart.  
 When he had travelled far,  
 he slept wherever he might be.  
 He arrived at Bengkung,<sup>15</sup>  
 Sheik Ngabdurahkim,  
 and stopped there for seven days.

Sheik Ngabdurahkim went down  
 to the mosque at Imagiri,<sup>16</sup>  
 wishing to join in the Friday prayer.  
 He happened to arrive at the same time

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12. Louw refers to him as Hjang Djatisukma.
  13. Sunan Kali-Djaga, one of the wali of Java, and associated with the founding of the realm of Mataram.
  14. Two lines condensed into one.
  15. Bengkung may be a place name, but it is not to be found in Ch. F. H. Dumont, Aardrijkskundig Woordenboek van Nederlandsch Oost-Indië (Rotterdam: Nijgh & Van Ditmar's, 1917). Louw's text has: "He arrived at a cave. . . ."
  16. The place of the royal burial ground, in the mountains south of Jogjakarta.

as the *djuru kuntji*,<sup>17</sup>  
 who were all coming to the prayer.  
 They were startled to see  
 their lord, and were rendered speechless.  
 Then they crowded around him and made their greetings.

After the Friday prayer  
 all the *djuru kuntji*  
 paid honor to him by making offerings  
 of whatever they were able to give.  
 He slept one night  
 in the Djimatan mosque  
 and in the morning he left.  
 Sheik Ngabdurahkim set out  
 following the river and then went up into the mountains.

p. 4 He came to a cave, a place of spirits,  
 and slept there for one night.  
 In the morning he set out  
 following the interior of the mountain.  
 Then he arrived,  
 Sheik Ngabdurahkim,  
 at a cave called Sagala-gala.  
 He went inside,  
 and slept two nights there.

On the next morning he set out  
 up the steep mountain,  
 intending to go to a cave called Langsé,  
 heedless of difficulties before him.  
 He travelled until he reached  
 the cave called Langsé,  
 and there Sheik Ngabdurahkim  
 stayed to perform asceticism.  
 He was in the cave for about half a month,

seeking after enlightenment.  
 The visible world vanished from his sight:  
 Sheik Ngabdurahkim  
 only took care for the Life<sup>18</sup> [within him],  
 and the Life took care for him.  
 He had returned to the Life  
 which is such  
 that it cannot be described.  
 Let us tell of her whose palace was beneath the sea:

Ratu Kidul<sup>19</sup> appeared  
 before Sheik Ngabdurahkim.  
 All was light and clear in the cave,

17. A retainer in charge of the upkeep of royal or holy graves.

18. The text reads *kang urip*, probably the Javanese equivalent of the Arabic *al-Hayy* (the Living One), one of the attributes of God.

19. Usually called Njai Rara (Loro) Kidul, the queen of the south sea. In the *Babad Tanah Djawi* she is said to have entered into a sort of union with *Sénapati* and also with Sultan Agung. See W. Olthof, ed., *Poenika Serat Babad Tanah Djawi, Wiwit saking Nabi Adam doemoegi ing Taoen 1647* (The Hague: M. Nijhoff, 1941), p. 78.



but Ratu Kidul knew  
 that Sheik Ngabdurahkim  
 was as one dead to the world,  
 and could not be tempted.  
 So she spoke to give a promise  
 that she would return in the future when the time came.

Sheik Ngabdurahkim  
 heard what she said, though he saw nothing;  
 then she disappeared.  
 Now Sheik Ngabdurahkim  
 released his inner gaze  
 which returned to the light.<sup>20</sup>  
 In the morning he went down  
 to Parangtaritis.  
 Then he bathed in the sea and slept at Parangkusuma.<sup>21</sup>

He was sunk in meditation, leaning against a stone,  
 half dozing, when he heard  
 a voice which spoke thus:  
 "O Sheik Ngabdurahkim,  
 change your name.  
 You are now Ngabdulkamit.<sup>22</sup>  
 Further, I say,  
 in three years will come a time  
 of great disturbances in Jogjakarta

It is the will of God  
 that the beginning of the disturbances in the land of Java  
 will be in three years.  
 p. 5 And it is determined that you<sup>23</sup>  
 will play the chief part.  
 I give this sign  
 to you, Ngabdurahkim,  
 it is the arrow Sarotama.<sup>24</sup> Wear it.

And again I say  
 to you, Ngabdulkamit,  
 take care:  
 for if in future you fail,  
 your father will not succeed [to the throne].  
 But I tell you,  
 Ngabdulkamit,  
 you must refuse to be made  
 the heir-apparent by the Dutch,<sup>25</sup>

20. The text reads Bongsa rijahipun, possibly from the Arabic diyā.

21. According to Louw (De Java-oorlog, I, p. 93) Parangtaritis and Parangkusuma are situated close together, to the south of Mantjingan.

22. From the Arabic 'Abdu'l-Ḥamīd.

23. Two lines condensed into one.

24. From the Sanskrit carottama (best of arrows). According to J.F.C. Gericke and T. Roorda, Javaansch-Nederlandsch handwoordenboek, 2 vols. (Amsterdam: J. Müller, 1901) this is the name of an arrow of Ardjuna.

25. This term is misleading; the author means Europeans in general, and in this case it is the English who are involved.

for God has determined that this would be a sin.  
 But as for your father,  
 Ngabdulkamit, watch over  
 his succession to the throne,  
 for there is nothing else  
 which can be a means to this but you only.  
 He will not reign for long,  
 but will be the ancestor [of Sultans].  
 Ngabdulkamit, you must return home.

Ngabdulkamit woke with a start. He looked around  
 but all was clear,  
 there was no one speaking to him.  
 Then, high up in the clouds,  
 something flashed like lightning,  
 and fell in front of him.  
 It was Ki Sarotama.  
 When it had found its mark in the stone,  
 he took it up at once.  
 Day broke, and Sheik Ngabdulkamit set out,

carrying Ki Sarotama in his girdle.  
 He followed the water meadows,  
 and stopped at the river mouth  
 for a little while, before setting out again.  
 He came to Lipura<sup>26</sup>  
 and on a shining stone  
 he slept overnight.  
 In the morning he set out again  
 until he reached the Setjang<sup>27</sup> cave. Here the Prince stopped,  
 and slept the night.  
 In the morning he continued his journey,  
 back to Tegalredja.  
 When he arrived there,  
 he dressed.  
 Ki Sarotama  
 he made into a dagger.  
 Now the subject of the story changes:  
 in Jogjakarta there was much talk.

\* \* \* \* \*

[The reign of Sultan Amangkubuwana IV, Dipanagara's younger  
 half-brother. The meter is Kinanti.]

- p. 79 It was the will of God  
 that the Sultan should be exceedingly sinful,  
 though when his elder brother was present  
 he feared his anger.  
 The English were replaced by the Dutch:  
 the [new] Resident's name was Néis [Nahuys].

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26. Gondanglipura, near Jogjakarta.

27. Dumont, Aardrijkskundig Woordenboek, lists three places with this  
 name; one near Kuṭaradja, one near Purwardja, and one near  
 Tjangkrep (all in Keḍu).

His pleasure was in eating and drinking  
and making merry in the Dutch fashion.  
All the Sultan's relatives  
of the younger generation  
followed his example,  
heedless of the prohibitions of their religion.

Then "Collectors" were appointed,  
but without the knowledge  
of Prince Dipanagara.  
As for their maintenance,  
they got money  
from all the subjects of the realm.

The Collectors' job  
was to help the Patih.  
The matter had been discussed  
with Nahuys, who had given his approval  
and asked that it be authorized  
with the Sultan's own seal.

This was given.  
Now we tell  
that all the Sultan's relatives  
of mature years,  
and all the Dipati  
of the realm of Jogjakarta, were perturbed,

and having discussed the matter, informed  
Prince Dipanagara.  
The Prince  
was greatly surprised,  
and set out for Jogjakarta.  
He arrived at the kraton

where he met the Sultan's mother.  
The Prince asked politely:  
"About this matter,  
how is it that I have not been told?<sup>28</sup>  
It will be a vexation to all the people."

The Ratu Ibu said sweetly:<sup>29</sup>  
"I did not know that.  
When the matter was discussed,  
I asked and was told  
that you had already been informed."  
The Prince asked politely:

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28. Two lines condensed into one.

29. It should be noted that words like aris (gently) and arum (sweetly) are frequently used to fill the requirements of the meter and have little semantic force.

- p. 80. "Where is the Sultan?"  
The Ratu Ibu said:  
"He is in the *bangsal panggung*."<sup>30</sup>  
The Prince then went to find him.  
When he came upon the Sultan,  
the Prince said politely:

"Sultan, the reason I have come  
is to ask you<sup>31</sup> about something.  
I have heard  
that you have appointed Collectors.  
What is this?"  
The Sultan said softly:

"It was on the advice of Danuredja<sup>32</sup>  
and Wiranagara,  
as there are too few envoys.  
As for their task,  
it is to collect all the moneys  
from the *panjumleng*<sup>33</sup> tax.

I asked them both  
if they had informed you,<sup>34</sup>  
and they said that you had already agreed."  
The Prince said:  
"That is certainly an absolute falsehood.

Sultan, in case you don't know,  
in my opinion  
this is a piece of absolute villainy  
which will certainly lead  
to trouble  
in the future

for the common people.  
And what is the salary  
of the Collectors, and how many of them are there?  
And for their daily meetings  
what buildings do they use?"  
The Sovereign said politely:

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30. A tower of some sort. According to Louw (*De Java-oorlog*, I, p. 122) it was one of the watchtowers of the kraton, although he was unable to discover if there had ever been such a tower at Jogjakarta.
31. The word used is *sira*. This is significant because this would be the word used by a ruler to his subject, and not vice versa, which cast some light on the nature of the relationship between the two brothers.
32. Danuredja [III], the Patih.
33. A tax levied either per *djung* (measure of land) or per door (of house).
34. Two lines condensed into one. Here the word used for "you" is *paduka*, so that the Sultan addresses his elder half-brother as if the latter were a reigning monarch.

[Change of meter: Sinom

"Their salary comes directly from the tax moneys,  
and each of them receives sixty [guilders].  
The headmen receive one hundred and fifty.  
In number they are forty,  
plus two more.  
Those two are the headmen.  
They gather  
at Danuredja's residence  
and when the messengers have all gone out, they take over  
their duties.

At the appointed times, it is their duty  
to go out to the villages  
and collect the panjumpleng tax."  
The Prince said politely  
with a smile:  
"What I said was no lie!  
Now another thing, Sultan.  
If they don't quite ruin the country,  
I shall thank the *gunung*.<sup>35</sup>

p. 81 In the time of our late father  
I asked that all the *gunung*  
should be dismissed,  
on account of the burden they are  
to the common people.  
I proposed to substitute  
the corvee services and the money  
from the tolls in all the ports.  
I think this should be more than enough so that there will  
be no shortage of resources.

As for the government of the villages  
[I asked] that it should return to the arrangements  
existing in the reign of our great-grandfather.<sup>36</sup>  
Our revered father agreed to this,  
but fixed a future time for its implementation,  
that is, after one year had elapsed.  
This was to fill [the state coffers]  
since the finances were quite depleted.  
Before the time had elapsed, our revered father passed away.

And now you  
actually intend to increase  
the burden on the villagers.  
What are you about?"  
The Sultan said politely:  
"It has already been done.  
My seal is on<sup>37</sup>  
the letter which will give the instructions to the villages."

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35. A sort of police official with some judiciary powers (for levying fines, etc.).

36. Sultan Amangkubuwana I.

37. Two lines condensed into one.

"Well, Sultan, you ask for it back  
if it has not yet gone out.  
Summon Wiranagara."  
The Sultan immediately  
sent his summons,  
and Wiranagara arrived before him.  
The Sultan said:  
"Major,<sup>38</sup> what is this,  
you said before that you had already informed

my beloved elder brother, and that he had consented.  
Now I incur his anger!"  
Wiranagara bowed his head,  
unable to find words.  
Then [the Sultan] spoke again:  
"Now I want the letter back  
and the Collectors will not be appointed."  
Wiranagara said:  
"I am afraid that the letter has already gone through

and there is the Resident. . . ."  
The Sultan was embarrassed  
and remained silent.  
The Prince became angry  
and said to his younger brother:  
"Enough, Sultan, you must choose between me,  
one man alone,  
and these two. What is your choice?  
If you choose these two

let the letter go out.  
If you choose me,  
ask for it back.  
As for your Resident,  
if he is angry,  
have no part in it.  
p. 82 If you choose these two  
I don't say that I am better,  
but I will have nothing to do with it.

Wiranagara said:  
"How can it be withdrawn?  
The command has already been given,  
and according to the book called  
Nasihah ul-Muluk<sup>39</sup>  
once the king has spoken  
it cannot be rescinded."  
The Prince listened  
to Wiranagara's submission

---

38. Wiranagara bore the hybrid title of Radèn Major. He is also sometimes referred to as Tumenggung, a Javanese title with military connotations.

39. Nasihat ul-Muluk (Advice to Kings) is an eleventh-century Shafiite work. See Carl Brockelmann, *Geschichte der Arabischen Litteratur* (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1942-1943), I, p. 483.

and his wrath was aroused.  
 He pulled both his ears,  
 and kicked him, shouting:  
 "Well, Mukidin!<sup>40</sup>  
 You want to give us a lesson.  
 You are hiding behind your Book,  
 and you know better than anyone--  
 the rest of us know nothing,  
 and you are the only judge of good and evil!"

The Prince [now] spoke  
 to the Sultan: "I want to know the truth.  
 You tell me  
 who thought of this.  
 If it were you, yourself,  
 that would be according to the Tables of Destiny;<sup>41</sup>  
 if it were on the advice of someone else,  
 then it can certainly be changed,  
 and as devil's work I will not allow it."

The Sultan said quietly:  
 "It originated with two people,  
 Danuredja and Wiranagara.  
 I asked them,  
 and they said  
 that they had already informed you.  
 So I believed them,  
 and gave my permission."  
 Tumenggung Wiranagara bowed his head.

The Prince said:  
 "It is quite clear  
 that this is the invention of a devil.  
 What was said about the Book is so much idle talk."  
 The Sultan said softly:  
 "Now tell again,  
 Major, to my beloved elder brother--  
 if you still dare--  
 the matter of this Book. I would like to hear you!"

Major Wiranagara  
 could find nothing to say.  
 The Sultan spoke:  
 "It is decided that I shall ask [for the letter] back,  
 and the Collectors will be dismissed.  
 You may leave."  
 Major Wiranagara  
 withdrew from the chamber with a *sembah*<sup>42</sup>

p. 83 The Sultan said to his elder brother:

40. According to Louw (De Java-oorlog, I, p. 123) this was Wiranagara's name as a child.
41. Lokilmahpul, from the Arabic Lawḥ Mahfuz, the table on which everything is written as it is predetermined to happen.
42. To make a *sembah* is to place the palms of the hands together and hold them before one's face with the thumbs at the level of the nose, while bowing forwards. This is done to signify great respect for the person concerned.

"Let us retire, dear brother,  
and take our meal in the kraton."  
They went together,  
and sat down inside the yellow building.  
The Ratu Ibu joined them,  
together with Ratu Kantjana.<sup>43</sup>  
Then they asked that the meal be brought,  
and Njai Rija served them.  
The Ratu Ibu asked sweetly:

"What has happened, Sultan,  
in the matter of the Collectors?"  
The Sultan said:  
"It is now settled that we will not continue with it."  
The Ratu smiled, and said:  
"Sultan, I tell you the truth:  
the one who reigns  
in Jogjakarta is really  
your elder brother Prince Dipanagara.

Indeed, Sultan, this was settled  
by your father quite some time ago,  
when he was still the heir-apparent.  
He said to me:  
'Radèn Aju, I tell you,  
don't hold high hopes for your son,  
for my heart is set upon  
his elder brother.'  
And I said that I would follow his wishes."

The Sultan seemed embarrassed,  
for there were other people present to hear this.  
He said:  
"There is no need to tell me this.  
I already know it,  
for my revered father gave the same message  
to me, indeed."  
The Prince smiled and said gently:  
"Ratu Ibu, you are like a child,

with a secret to tell,  
so that everyone knows it."  
Ratu Kantjana smiled.  
When they had finished  
the meal, they took their leave.  
The Prince retired  
to Tegalredja.  
After some considerable time has passed  
the Ratu Ageng<sup>44</sup> fell seriously ill.

---

43. The Ratu Ibu was, as seen above, the Sultan's mother. Ratu Kantjana was his wife.

44. This title was born at this time by the mother of Amangkubuwana III, that is, by Dipanagara's grandmother.



This happened in the fast month,  
 when all the sons and grandsons of the royal family  
 were holding their watch at the kraton.  
 together with the *ulama*.  
 The Penghulu asked [the Ratu Ageng]  
 to break her fast,  
 but she refused to do so.  
 It seemed as if she had decided  
 that when *bakda*<sup>45</sup> came she would find her rest.

p. 84 The Sultan said to his elder brother:  
 "What shall we do tomorrow  
 about the Garebeg procession?"  
 The prince said gently:  
 "Do not change the arrangements  
 I myself,  
 together with Ratu Bendara and Ratu Anggèr<sup>46</sup>  
 will keep watch over grandmother.  
 You all go in the Garebeg procession.

Mangkubumi,<sup>47</sup> you  
 make audience in the morning."  
 The Sultan said gently:  
 "But if it happens that I am not present. . . ?"  
 The Prince said:  
 "God knows of the future,  
 but it seems to me,  
 that our grandmother is waiting  
 until all her sons and grandsons are present."

Thus it was done.  
 It was God's will  
 that the death of the Ratu Ageng  
 took place after the Garebeg procession.  
 Her sons and grandsons had already come,  
 as well as the Penghulu.  
 All the *ulama*  
 had gathered there too.  
 She was laid to rest at Djimatan<sup>48</sup> with her son.

\* \* \* \* \*

pp. 85- [The ten stanzas omitted here deal briefly with the rebellion  
 86 of Sinduratmadja and Pangéran Dipasana.]

- 
45. The celebrations of the first of Sawal, after the fast month.  
 46. Ratu Anggèr was Ratu Kantjana's mother. I am not sure who Ratu  
 Bendara was.  
 47. Dipanagara's uncle (brother of Amangkubuwana III).  
 He joined Dipanagara in his uprising.  
 48. The royal burial place at Imagiri.

We tell of the Sultan.  
 It happened that he had the desire to see  
 his elder brother again,  
 and so he sought him at Sélaradja.<sup>49</sup>  
 It happened that at the time  
 of the arrival of the Sultan,  
 who had missed his elder brother greatly,  
 the Prince himself  
 was bathing in a pool where the water<sup>50</sup> flowed.

He was amusing himself by watching the goldfish  
 on the shining stones.  
 The Sultan arrived  
 and helped him to choose [the best].  
 Two other princes  
 accompanied their brother<sup>51</sup> [the Sultan].  
 They were the princes Surjabrangta  
 and Surjawidjaja.  
 It was the will of God that the Prince [Dipanagara]

should be moved to place complete trust  
 in his younger brother [the Sultan].

The Prince said:

"Come, Sultan, let us move,  
 and sit inside."

The Sultan went with him,  
 accompanied by his brothers  
 Pangéran Surjabrangta  
 and Pangéran Surjawidjaja.

The Prince said,  
 smiling at his younger brother:  
 "Sultan, I tell you,  
 all the agreements,  
 from the English period,  
 are still with me,  
 and not in the kraton.  
 There you will find only the contracts  
 and the agreement about the state finances.

- 
49. From the text it is clear that this was another residence of Dipanagara's, close to Tegalredja. Louw's text reads Batu-ardja throughout.
50. The text actually has tigan but since none of the meanings of this word are at all appropriate, I have supposed it to be a corruption of toja.
51. The text first says that the Sultan was their elder brother, then that he was their younger brother. In fact, according to de Klerck's table (*De Java-oorlog*, VI, p. 467) Surjawidjaja was older than the Sultan and Surjabrangta younger.

But all the special provisions,<sup>52</sup>  
are still here.  
Now I am worried  
that if you and I should die<sup>53</sup>  
it seems certain  
that quarrels will spring up  
among our sons,  
unless God protects them.

So this is my present wish:  
I will give the document  
to you, Sultan.  
But, Sultan, I entrust it to the care  
of all your children.  
If I should die,  
I leave things in your hands, Sultan."  
The Sultan  
agreed to this, and the Prince said

p. 87 to the Princes Surjabrangta  
and Surjawidjaja:  
"You both go  
and ask for the agreement.  
My wife will give it to you."  
The two princes withdrew with a sembah  
from the presence of their brothers.  
They returned immediately,  
and gave the document to Prince Dipanagara,

who took it, and said:  
"Sultan, you should know  
that this document was written  
by General Raffles<sup>54</sup> himself.  
The Javanese on the other side  
was written by [Se] tjadiningrat.<sup>55</sup>  
Enough, you take it.  
But I must impress upon you  
that this is the one thing I am anxious to preserve."

---

52. Neither here nor in any other place does Dipanagara explain what these special provisions were. Louw, however, is of the opinion that they related to the succession of the throne and connects this document with one described by Van Lawick van Pabst, in which Dipanagara was promised that he should succeed to the throne in the event of his half-brother, the Sultan, dying while still a minor or conducted himself improperly. The chief difference between the two accounts is that while Dipanagara says that the document in question was written by Raffles, Van Lawick van Pabst says that it was written by Dipanagara's father (Amangkubuwana III). Both writers, however, agree that the document was burnt by those whose interests conflicted with Dipanagara's. See Louw, De Java-oorlog, I, pp. 115-125.

53. Two lines condensed into one.

54. Raffles was of course not a general. The title probably results from the usage of djéndral to translate the Dutch Gouverneur-Generaal. Djéndral is however also used for military generals, for instance Djéndral Glèspi (General Gillespie).

55. This was the title granted to the Kapitan Tjina, Djing Sing, who had served Dipanagara's father in the negotiations with the British.

The Sultan said that he understood,  
 and was exceedingly grateful [for this trust].  
 The document was handed over  
 to the Sultan, who took it  
 with a glad heart.  
 The Sultan afterwards asked leave to return to the capital.  
 This was granted,  
 and he left Sélaradja,  
 carrying the letter on his own person.

We do not describe his journey:  
 he arrived at the kraton.  
 Now it was the will of God  
 that before much time had passed  
 the Sultan fell prey to the schemes,  
 of devils, who led him astray.  
 The document he had been given  
 he now burnt, an evil deed,  
 [thinking] if this is still in existence who knows what may  
 happen?

It seems that it was God's predetermination  
 that the Sultan easily accepted  
 evil counsel.  
 And so the document was burnt.  
 By God's will,  
 it happened that only a short time after  
 his burning of the document <sup>56</sup>  
 the Sultan died at his appointed time.

The cause of his death, however,  
 was not an illness which grew from slight [to fatal].  
 He had been out on a pleasure trip and had come to a stop,  
 and what did cause his death  
 was the food offered by  
 the Patih [Danuredja].  
 He was drinking *djangan* <sup>57</sup>  
 when he began to cough and hiccough.  
 He fell to the ground and died immediately.

p. 88 His body swelled up all at once.  
 There was great commotion in Jogjakarta,  
 and everyone was shocked at the news.  
 Dipanagara<sup>58</sup> arrived,  
 but his brother was already dead.  
 And all the royal relatives,  
 men and women, gathered there.  
 There was a noise like thunder from the lamentation,  
 because of all the women in the palace.

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56. Two lines condensed into one.

57. A soup-like dish, eaten as an accompaniment to rice.

58. Literally, "his elder brother."

All the officials  
gathered there in their full complement.  
The Penghulu and his companions  
asked that the body should be washed,  
but the Secretary, Ibu [D'Abo], did not agree to this,  
and asked them to wait,  
while he sent a messenger  
after the Resident.  
The Resident's name was Baron Silwis [de Salis]

and he happened to be away at Sala.  
[The Secretary] ordered that the proceedings should wait  
while they went after [the Resident].  
The Prince looked upon  
the body of his brother  
and determined  
that it must be washed.  
This was done,  
and afterwards [the body] was laid to rest in the Prabajasa.<sup>59</sup>

A day and a night passed;  
Baron de Salis had still not arrived.  
The next morning the body was placed in the coffin.<sup>60</sup>  
Again the Secretary objected,  
but he was overruled again  
by the Prince.  
Now that the body was in the coffin,  
watch was kept over it in the *bangsal*.  
At eleven o'clock Baron de Salis arrived.

Then the order was given to carry the coffin [in procession].  
The Ratu Ageng<sup>61</sup>  
made a strong representation,  
but she was told that it was not possible  
that her desire should be fulfilled.  
Baron de Salis  
went arm-in-arm  
with Prince Dipanagara.  
When they reached the southern *alun-alun* they all returned  
to the palace,  
all the distant relatives  
and the sons of the royal house.  
The Resident, de Salis, said politely:

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59. The entrance hall of the kraton.

60. The text has tinimbangan (summoned), an error for tinabélan.

61. This title had now passed to the mother of the dead Sultan (Amangkubuwana IV). She had formerly been called the Ratu Ibu. We are not told what she so strongly requested, but the implication seems to be that she wanted her own grandson to succeed to the throne and was told that this was not possible since the Resident favored Dipanagara.

"Prince Dipanagara,  
do not return home,  
but remain and keep watch in the palace."  
The Prince replied politely:  
"I do not wish to do so. I will return home when you do so.

p. 89 Let the Secretary  
and Ditri [Dietré]<sup>62</sup> alone  
stay and keep watch in the palace  
with Kjai Mangkubumi."  
Baron de Salis agreed,  
and the assembly dispersed.  
All the royal relatives  
kept watch over the Sultan's coffin,  
and the Prince returned to Tegalredja.

All the royal relatives  
then went to Djimatan,  
where the Sultan was buried.  
His tomb was quickly made,  
apart from the one where his father lay.  
Now we tell  
that the Sultan had left  
nine children:  
but we list only his sons.

[The first] was called Radèn Mas Ménol  
and he was three years old.  
Nevertheless he had been given  
the title of Pangéran Dipati,<sup>63</sup>  
although some time later  
he had not yet been installed in that position.  
His younger brother was Radèn Mas Geṭot,  
and then there were Radèn Mas Mursada,  
and Radèn Mas Maw-dan.<sup>64</sup> So there were four boys

and five girls.  
Now we tell  
of Pangéran Dipanagara.  
He was often invited  
to the Residency,  
but he seldom accepted.  
And, moreover, whenever  
the Resident visited the palace,  
he asked the Prince to come with him. But he rarely did so.

And the Resident often tried to determine  
the Prince's exact age.  
Whenever he felt the desire to do so  
he would ask him to the Residency.  
The Resident made every effort

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62. A translator (See Louw, *De Java-oorlog*, I, p. 127).

63. The title borne by the Crown Prince. Louw translates that he  
had only been promised this title.

64. Louw's text reads Mangun.

to win his heart,  
and often asked [the Prince]  
to sit down with him:  
the Resident would wait on him himself.

In talking to him, Baron de Salis  
asked many questions about<sup>65</sup>  
Tegalredja and Sélaradja.  
Pangéran Mangkubumi  
understood the direction of things,  
and set out for Tegalredja.<sup>66</sup>  
There he met  
p. 90 the Prince,<sup>67</sup> inside the Sélaradja house.

Pangéran [Mangkubumi] said:  
"My boy, I do not quite understand  
Baron de Salis' intentions.  
He is much drawn,  
to you, my boy.  
I think that in his heart  
he is waiting to find out your hopes.  
If you will be first  
say so." Pangéran [Dipanagara] said:

"That would be quite easy.  
[But] I absolutely refuse  
to take such a path.  
If I had been so inclined, I would already,  
before this lapse of time,  
have spoken of the promises."  
Pangéran [Mangkubumi] said  
to his nephew:<sup>68</sup>  
"My boy, I am exceedingly worried

that another may be [proposed for the throne].  
What should I do?"  
Pangeran [Dipanagara] said,  
smiling: "Indeed, I am thankful  
if they want to depart from  
the agreement.  
It is better thus:  
it will avoid trouble.  
I place my trust in God's protection."

Pangéran [Mangkubumi] returned to the capital.  
About a week later,  
Radén Mas Ménol was raised  
to the throne, succeeding  
his late father,

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65. These two lines are reversed in the translation.

66. Two lines condensed into one.

67. Literally, "his son," a confusing usage.

68. Literally, "his son."

though with a regency council.  
Those appointed were  
Pangéran Mangkubumi  
and Pangéran

Arja Dipanagara,  
together with Ratu Kantjana  
and the Ratu Ageng.  
Prince [Dipanagara] was quite unwilling,  
but was compelled to accept the position.  
Because of this he felt greatly shamed  
and was unable to face his fellow men.  
Such was his state of mind that when his *kamphuh*<sup>69</sup> was torn  
as he mounted into the carriage,

he did not see this, and trod on it.  
The Secretary was with him,  
and he felt as if he had received a mortal blow.  
They came to the Residency<sup>70</sup>  
and the contract<sup>71</sup> was read.  
Radèn Mas Ménol shrieked,  
with all his force, saying:  
p. 91 "No! I don't want to!"  
but the Resident insisted upon his accession

and so did the Ratu Ageng.  
When they returned [from the Residency]  
[the new Sultan] sat on the *sittinggil*<sup>72</sup> for a moment,  
and then they all went in to the kraton,  
and sat down in one of the *balé*.<sup>73</sup>  
Baron de Salis gave  
the contract to Pangéran [Dipanagara],  
but he did not want it.  
When asked to read it out he was unable to do so.

When his signature was requested  
he said that he was unable to write.  
Asked for his sign [he said]:  
"I do not have my seal with me."  
Paku Alam<sup>74</sup>  
smiled at this.  
Pangéran Dipanagara  
was more shamed than ever,  
feeling that he had become a laughingstock.

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69. This is an article of attire formerly worn by male persons of rank at court and also sometimes by bridegrooms. It is a length of cloth draped over trousers.

70. The text has djandji, which I have taken for an error for lodji.

71. The treaty between the new Sultan, represented by the Regency council, and the Dutch government.

72. The name of a square walled terrace with lattice work and door in front outside the entrance to the princely residence. Here the ruler would sit on major festival days to be seen by his subjects.

73. One of the pavilions in the kraton.

74. The ruler of a small principality created out of Jogjakarta by the British in 1812.



So all the business  
 was taken in hand  
 by Pangéran Mangkubumi,  
 with the consent of the Resident.  
 Afterwards the gathering dispersed.  
 Now we tell  
 of Pangéran Dipanagara  
 who returned to Tegalredja.  
 After his arrival there he became exceedingly melancholy,

thinking only of his shame,  
 that he had been so little regarded,  
 as to be made stand-in for a mere boy.  
 If he had only been asked!  
 Now he was put on a level  
 with an obsequious person  
 selling his services for a living.  
 "Was ever anyone in such a situation?  
 One must have too great a desire for life [to live on so]."

His heart was as if quite broken.  
 Pangéran Dipanagara  
 then entered the sleeping apartment,  
 intending to take his life.  
 The visible world vanished from his sight,  
 and only his shame remained with him.  
 Now Sang Kusuma<sup>75</sup>  
 was anxious at heart, seeing  
 her husband,<sup>76</sup> whose innermost feelings she could not fathom.

"What secret does he bear,  
 that he is so melancholy?"<sup>77</sup>  
 thus she thought,  
 with an uneasy mind.  
 And so Sang Retna followed him  
 p. 92 into the sleeping apartment.  
 There she saw that her husband  
 was about to take his life.  
 She fell at his feet, and with overflowing tears

said brokenly:  
 "Dear husband, I cannot bear to remain after you!"  
 With her head on his breast [she said]:  
 "Let me die first!  
 How can I remain after you!"  
 By the will of God  
 the Prince's gaze  
 returned to the light  
 when he heard the tearful words of Sang Kusuma.

---

75. Sang Kusuma, Sang Retna and Sang Dyah are poetic terms for a lady of rank and beauty.

76. Literally, "her elder brother." "Elder brother" and "younger sister" are forms of address commonly used between husband and wife.

77. These two lines are reversed in the translation.

He looked once more outside himself,  
 and gently taking hold of his wife,  
 he set her on his lap,  
 saying:  
 "Enough, do not weep, Lady!  
 Your servant will not take his life."  
 Sang Dyah said gently:  
 "What has so deeply affected you  
 that you wish to take leave of the world, my lord?"

The Prince said:  
 "My ruby, my mistress, fair one,  
 light of all Java!  
 I shall tell you the truth:  
 I am ashamed to live longer  
 in this world.  
 I am a man good for nothing:  
 I have been made stand-in for a baby.  
 It seems that I am no longer considered a rational being.

They make merry of me like a man of low repute,  
 and I am held exceedingly cheap.  
 Had I wished to be ruler  
 I would have been so long ago,  
 and now I am his regent.  
 I have come so low  
 that I am greatly shamed:  
 I have been raised to the office of nursemaid."  
 Sang Retna smiled and said gently:

"I beg your forgiveness  
 in the greatest measure for your servant.  
 It is not possible, my lord, that you have become unmindful  
 of the best path  
 to the world which is yet hidden from us.  
 It is not thus.  
 In earlier times, my lord,  
 you spoke of the best path.  
 I still remember this.

This is my resolve  
 in case I should be left behind  
 [by your] going to the eternal world.  
 I pray that I may go first,  
 for I could not bear to see  
 p. 93 you go, and remain behind.<sup>78</sup>  
 Truly, I have  
 prayed to the Lord of All Things.<sup>79</sup>

---

78. Two lines condensed into one.

79. From the Arabic Rabb al-(ālamīn(a)).

and implored the blessing  
 and intercession of the Prophet  
 Muhammad, the Chosen One,  
 that when we depart this world for a holier one  
 I may not be second.  
 And as for the way thither,  
 it is excellent and broad,  
 and it depends upon God's decree.  
 Between haste and patience we can make but one choice.

Still the best  
 is patience.  
 Many indeed are its stories.  
 And let us increase the number of our works, truly.  
 If it is allowed,  
 and with God's help,  
 it is my purpose  
 to serve to the end  
 as your handmaid, my lord.

My lord, you wanted to end things yourself,  
 not allowing the judgment of the Almighty.  
 But how can it be otherwise?  
 What remains to us is most excellent:  
 in truth, shame in this world,  
 if we do not swerve from our purpose,  
 becomes good works, for which we shall be recompensed.  
 And it is sure that the trials sent by the Almighty  
 all spring from His love and bounty.

The reason I dare to speak truly<sup>80</sup>  
 is that it was from you, my lord,  
 that I learnt this.  
 I implore your pardon  
 if I have too far forgotten myself."  
 When the Prince heard  
 the words of his wife  
 he smiled, and it was as if his sorrow were wiped away.

The Prince embraced his wife  
 and said gently:  
 "Oh my ruby, my mistress,  
 who art like a finely chiselled diamond,  
 and sent down from heaven  
 out of the bounty of the Lord!  
 Jewel among the women  
 of all the land of Java!  
 I cannot describe my feelings.

Truly, you know right,  
 and your servant is greatly in error.  
 Faith is like the sun;  
 the human heart is like the wind;  
 and the trials we experience from evil schemes  
 are like unto clouds.  
 Our corporeal existence  
 may be likened unto the earth:  
 if no rain falls

p. 94

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80. Two lines condensed into one.

how will they grow,  
 all the seeds which are in the earth?  
 Your good deeds  
 are like a seed,  
 from which in this corporeal existence  
 we can grow in faith.  
 The third part is the human heart.  
 These together form one whole,  
 completed by our acceptance [of whatever is God-given].<sup>81</sup>

The significance of acceptance  
 is that it brings about the growth of the seeds.  
 If it is not thus  
 our life is in vain.  
 Of all men in this world  
 most favored of all  
 are those who are greatly tried,  
 for this is bounty indeed.  
 If they are able to meet [their trials], this is the proof  
 of God's love.

If they are not able to do so,  
 it is as if all the seeds  
 are not able to grow;  
 and so our human life is fruitless.  
 It would be better to die  
 as a baby, unknown and unreckoned.  
 The best things  
 are four, in one unity:  
 works, [mystical] knowledge [of God], the knower, and the  
 Known.<sup>82</sup>

It has happened that I  
 have been given God's bounty:  
 because of you I have been made mindful that this is a trial  
 I must undergo,  
 when I had almost strayed from the right path."  
 We speak no more of this,  
 but tell of Jogjakarta.  
 Prince Mangkubumi was still<sup>83</sup>  
 being pressed for the seal of his nephew.

---

81. Thus the simile is: The heart is like the earth, the good deed like a seed, and acceptance of whatever God gives is like the rain.

82. The text gives the "four things" as ngamal, ngèlmu, ngamal, maklum, but this seems an error, perhaps for ngamal, ngèlmu, ngalim, maklum. Ngamal (works) and ngèlmu (esoteric knowledge) are often represented as complementary, and we also find the trinity ngèlmu - ngalim - maklum: esoteric knowledge, the knower, and the Known, that is, God.

83. Two lines are condensed into one.

Baron de Salis  
did not accept the three seals<sup>84</sup> that were there,  
but demanded the full complement,  
insisting on the fourth.

He said:

"If that one is not there  
these three [are useless].  
The only one that we must have  
is that of Prince Dipanagara.

p. 95 The other three  
are in the nature of witnesses.  
If we do not have  
that single seal  
then we cannot collect  
the moneys<sup>85</sup> from the tolls.  
I will certainly not allow it."  
So Pangéran Mangkubumi  
was pressed by three people of high rank<sup>86</sup>

because there was no money for the state's expenses.<sup>87</sup>  
So Pangéran Mangkubumi  
set out to Tegalredja.  
Now we tell  
that it happened that the Prince [Dipanagara]  
was sitting inside the *balé kentjur*.<sup>88</sup>  
He had asked for the Ardjuna Widjaja  
to be read to him,<sup>89</sup>  
as a way of easing his rended heart.

He was attended by two retainers.  
Wirjadikusuma  
was the name of one,  
and Sastrawinangun [was the other].  
Pangéran Mangkubumi  
on arriving [at Tegalredja] then went straight on  
to Sélaradja,  
and when he met [his nephew] they sat down together  
in the *balé kentjur*. Pangéran [Mangkubumi] said:

---

84. The three seals would be those of Mangkubumi, Ratu Kantjana, and the Ratu Ageng.

85. The text has duwé, which I have read as an error for duwit.

86. That is, Baron de Salis and the two Ratu.

87. The text has sabab tan saged balaka, which I have read as an error for sabab tan saged balandja.

88. A pendapa situated in a churchyard or near a mosque.

89. The story of the battle between Ardjuna and Dasamuka, taken from the Uttarakanda and put into Javanese poetry by Mpu Tantular (Madjapahit period). See R. M. Ng. Poerbatjaraka, Kapustakan Djawi (Djakarta: Djambatan, 1952), p. 40. These two lines are reversed in the translation.

"My boy, the reason that I have come  
is to inform you of the difficulty affecting the state.  
The moneys from the tolls  
cannot be commanded by myself and the Ratu Ageng<sup>90</sup>  
together with  
Ratu Kantjana, whose seal makes three;  
I must ask for your seal.  
What is more, I have incurred the anger  
of the Resident. What is your wish now?"

Pangéran Dipanagara  
seemed moved to inner wrath.  
"It is for this reason that I  
did not wish to become a regent.  
I am like a hired man,  
and am in the position of selling my name.  
For the whole time since it was made  
I have used this seal  
only three times,

and that was in cases of murder.  
Pangéran Mangkubumi  
said gently:  
"What shall they do,  
your relatives,  
and the soldiery too,  
who are all paid from these moneys?  
They will certainly be in difficulties  
if the money from the tolls does not come in."

Pangéran Dipanagara  
was torn two ways in his mind.  
Then he bowed before  
the shame that had come to him,  
though he felt as if his very heart was burnt.  
p. 96 He smiled and said politely:  
"Kjai,<sup>91</sup> I will do what you ask,  
but I take you to witness  
that after this is done I cast away my seal,

and so I no longer bear the name  
of Dipanagara,  
but am to be called Ngabdulkamit."  
Pangéran Mangkubumi  
said with apparent fear:  
"Indeed, whatever you wish:  
who would dare to oppose you?"  
[The Prince] asked for his seal, and when it was brought  
he gave it to his uncle<sup>92</sup>

---

90. Literally, "your elder sister."

91. This title can be used for any older man of some standing and  
does not necessarily carry any religious connotations.

92. Literally, "his father."

saying:  
 "Remember this, Kjai,  
 if it is a matter of money  
 I will not be brought into it again."  
 Pangéran Mangkubumi  
 said softly:  
 "Well, my boy, I think  
 that this sign from you [will be sufficient]."  
 Then he asked leave to return. We say no more of him.

The Prince's heart  
 was ever more strongly afflicted by burning pain.  
 To ease it, he went  
 to the house of his younger brother,  
 Pangéran Surjabrangta,  
 whose son was to be circumcised.  
 When he had supervised the ceremony, the Prince  
 slept there overnight.  
 His sleeping place was in the grounds of the house,

together with the women-folk.  
 Throughout the night he had no desire for sleep,  
 and played chess.<sup>93</sup>  
 His partner was  
 Radén Aju Danukusuma, the elder.<sup>94</sup>  
 In the morning the Prince returned  
 to Tegalredja,  
 and his wife met him on the verandah.

He embraced her, who resembled Supraba,<sup>95</sup>  
 and brought her into the sleeping apartment.  
 The Prince then fell asleep,  
 and slept through the hours of prayer and of food,  
 all day and into the night.  
 Sang Retna did not dare to wake him,  
 but simply kept watch.  
 Then, in the middle of the night  
 a sign of the wrath of God descended.

Mount Merapi burst into flames  
 which seemed to reach to heaven itself.  
 Jogjakarta seemed full of it;  
 the sky turned into fire.  
 The noise was frightful,  
 p. 97      thundering and roaring.  
             The fires danced,  
             and everyone was filled with fear,  
             and earnestly<sup>96</sup> looked for a place of shelter.

---

93. The text reads tjatur, from the Sanskrit caturangga.

94. Two lines condensed into one.

95. The name of a particularly beautiful widadari (heavenly nymph).

96. The text reads ting kuḍaṇḍang (affected by great longing),  
 foreshadowing the next meter, Ḍaṇḍanggula.

## [Dandanggula]

They fled seeking shelter scarcely knowing what they did:  
 the sky was now completely dark.  
 Now we tell that it happened  
 that the Prince did not wake,  
 but slept sweetly.  
 Sang Retna did not know what she should do:  
 she feared to leave him, in case he should be killed <sup>97</sup>  
 and yet she hardly dared to wake her husband.  
 So she just kept watch over him.

Sang Kusuma deteremined  
 to watch over her husband,  
 in case he should be killed.  
 Her only thought was to share his fate:  
 in truth, she did not intend to be left behind.  
 We say no more of this.  
 Sang Retna  
 had a servant  
 who was very light-headed, and knew no proper respect.  
 Her name was Bok Buwang.

Looking at the sky, she became very afraid,  
 and when she heard the noise she lost control of herself  
 and simply screamed.  
 The other servants all joined in,  
 while their master and mistress  
 still remained inside the sleeping apartment.  
 Now we tell  
 that when the Prince heard  
 the noise of all the servants screaming  
 he woke with a start.

When he saw his wife  
 sitting at his feet, the Prince asked:  
 "What is happening, little one?"  
 She said gently:  
 "I don't really know.  
 I have not been outside."  
 Then the Prince  
 went out, hand in hand  
 with Sang Retna. When they came out into the square in front  
 of the house  
 they looked at the sky

and the burning mountain,  
 and the shifting earth.  
 The Prince smiled,  
 and spoke  
 to all the servants,  
 [saying] various things [to calm them].  
 Afterwards  
 the Prince took Sang Retna  
 and brought her back to the sleeping apartment,  
 where he had his wish.

p. 98

---

97. Two lines condensed into one.



Afterwards the prince asked leave  
 of Sang Retna, to go to Sélaradja.  
 Now the scene of the story shifts  
 to Jogjakarta.  
 Great was the commotion there.  
 The Ratu Ageng  
 was exceedingly distracted  
 and could only cry for help  
 to Pangéran Dipanagara.  
 Every time she heard someone arrive

in haste, she thought  
 that it was the Prince arriving,  
 and afterwards she felt much disappointed.  
 The Secretary, D'Abo,  
 and Pangéran Mangkubumi,  
 Dietri, and the Patih [Danuredja],  
 as well as the Major<sup>98</sup>  
 and Baron de Salis, were not there:  
 they had left [on a journey]. Now we relate  
 that the state of crisis lasted three days.

Let us tell of him whose sorrow was great,  
 the Prince, at Sélaradja.  
 His feelings cannot be described,  
 that in this world  
 one misfortune had followed upon the other.  
 What is now related  
 took place  
 in the year Dal.<sup>99</sup>  
 The date was . . .<sup>100</sup> and it was the fast month,  
 on the twenty-first day.

The Prince was in a cave;  
 it was the Setjang cave.  
 Every year during the fast month  
 it was the Prince's habit<sup>101</sup>  
 to sit inside this cave,  
 without leaving it at all.  
 Now it happened

---

98. Presumably Wiranagara.

99. This is the fifth year of the eight-year windu cycle.

100. Although the number of syllables required for the meter is complete, it seems that the text once contained a date now missing. What remains is the windu year (Dal); the date of the month (the twenty-first of Ramadan, although Louw's text gives the twenty-seventh); and the two words sirah tanggal. Of these sirah (head) could be part of a chronogram (sengkala), with the value "1." Tanggal means "date," unless it is read as tunggal, which would also have the value "1." In any case, at least two more words would be needed for a complete chronogram. Louw's text has a complete date, 1751 (Çaka), (1829 A.D.) and therefore cannot be correct. Louw, De Java-oorlog, I, p. 130.

101. Two lines condensed into one.

that he was sitting on a shining stone  
which was called "Ngambar Maja."<sup>102</sup>

Such was his pleasure,  
to make this cave his home.  
There was a pond containing a spring  
which sputtered, like a lake  
rising up in a well.  
An enclosed widara<sup>103</sup> tree  
was of his audience hall  
the door. The tree was easy to climb.  
The Prince seemed to sleep, his eyes half-closed.  
Then there was

a man who came to him,  
accompanied by a wind.  
He stood before him,  
and his clothes  
were like those of a hadji.  
The Prince was astonished,  
and said politely:  
"I have not met you before:  
where do you come from?" The one asked answered:  
"I have no dwelling.

I come here because I have been sent to summon you."  
The Prince said:  
"What is the name of he who sent you,  
and where is his home?"  
The man said softly:  
"Indeed, he has no home.  
All the people of Java  
are his dwelling.  
He is called the Ratu Adil<sup>104</sup>  
and it was he who sent me

to summon you, in truth.  
You will find him  
on the summit of a mountain.  
From where we are  
the mountain lies in a southeasterly direction,  
and its name is Rasamuni.  
But you must meet him alone.<sup>105</sup>  
The Prince set out at once, accompanied  
by the man who had come to summon him.

---

102. That is, "radiating light."

103. According to F. S. A. de Clercq, Nieuw Plantkundig Woordenboek voor Nederlandsch Indie (Amsterdam: J. H. de Bussy, 1909), p. 34  
Widara is a tree with edible fruit, *Zizyphus jujuba*, the "jujube tree."

104. The Ratu Adil (Just King) is the central figure in Javanese messianism. Here, however, he has been given a strongly Islamic character.

105. Two lines condensed into one.

It was the will of God  
 that the Prince should follow him without question.  
 In a short time they came  
 to the foot of the mountain,  
 and the messenger disappeared from sight.  
 Now we tell  
 that the Ratu Adil  
 was standing on the summit of the mountain,  
 and his radiance outrivalled that of the Majestic Sun,<sup>106</sup>  
 which for long shone but palely.

The Prince could not  
 look upon the face  
 of the Ratu Adil, whose radiance  
 outshone that of the lordly Sun.  
 The Prince  
 looked only at his clothes, and saw<sup>107</sup>  
 that he wore a green turban,  
 and a silk *djubah*,<sup>108</sup>  
 silk trousers, and a red sash.<sup>109</sup>  
 He stood facing northwest,

at the summit of the mountain,  
 on a shining stone which was quite bald.  
 He cast no shadow,  
 and there was no grass:  
 p. 100 the ground was as clean as if it had been swept.  
 The Prince below him  
 looked upwards.  
 He stood facing southeast.  
 The Ratu Adil said gently:  
 "Oh Ngabdulkamit!

The reason I have summoned you  
 is that you must lead all my soldiers  
 in the conquest of Java.  
 If anyone should ask you<sup>110</sup>  
 for your mandate, it is the Koran.  
 Let them seek there."  
 Ngabdulkamit said:  
 "I ask pardon, I am not able to wage war,  
 nor can I bear

---

106. The text reads: Sang Hjang Pradongga-pati, Sang Hjang Arka.

107. These two lines are reversed in the translation.

108. A long Arab robe with wide sleeves.

109. The text reads sabi, which may refer to the Malay sebai.

110. Two lines condensed into one.

to see death.<sup>111</sup>  
 Moreover, once formerly,  
 I have undertaken such a commission,<sup>112</sup>  
 and been found wanting  
 by my fellow men."  
 The Ratu Adil said:  
 "It is not possible [for you to refuse],  
 for it is God's will  
 that it shall happen thus in Java,  
 and the one who shall have the chief role is you.

There is no other choice."  
 When he had finished speaking there was a loud crack  
 as if a stone had been thrown at a shovel,<sup>113</sup>  
 and he disappeared.  
 It is impossible to describe<sup>114</sup>  
 the Prince's feelings,  
 as he stood on the mountaintop.

He remained standing as before  
 facing northwest.  
 The Prince was exceedingly amazed  
 and felt a burden in his breast.  
 Fireflies made points of light,  
 and he was startled to see  
*betjak-betjik*<sup>115</sup>  
 and *puṭut* birds, and small bats,  
 which shrieked. The sea flamed  
 and there was a thundering noise,

like a rumbling of a volcano.  
 The Prince descended from the summit  
 and looked around him.  
 We say no more of this event:  
 afterwards the Prince returned directly  
 to Tegalredja.

p. 101 Now we tell  
 that many were the disturbances in Jogjakarta,  
 and the state was set in confusion.  
 We tell of the Penghulu

---

111. The text actually has aningali dumateng papatih (to see Patih),  
 an error for aningali dumateng papati.

112. This refers to the time of the English attack on the Jogjakarta-  
 kraton when Dipanagara was his father's Sēnapati (p. 43 of the  
 printed text).

113. Two lines condensed into one.

114. Three lines condensed into one.

115. I have been unable to locate betjak-betjik in a dictionary.  
 Louw does not translate this passage.

who had come to quarrel with the Patih.  
 Baron de Salis had been replaced  
 by Semitsa [Smissaert],  
 and the Secretary  
 had also been replaced;  
 Suwalijé [Chevallier]  
 was the name of the new incumbent.  
 To return to the Patih,  
 and the Penghulu:  
 their quarrel became worse.

During the fast month, the Penghulu  
 moved his house to Tegalredja:  
 he descended upon Sélaradja  
 with his baggage train.  
 He arrived at the audience hall  
 and then occupied the house  
 of Mas Kartadjaja.  
 The Prince did not know of this,  
 for he had gone to the Setjang cave again.  
 After some time had passed,

the Penghulu was sought out again,  
 but he did not wish to return.  
 Then he was replaced  
 by a Ketib,<sup>116</sup> who was raised to his office.  
 The Ketib's name was Ketib Anom.  
 The Prince [Dipanagara] was asked  
 for his permission but would not give it.<sup>117</sup>  
 Now we tell of another thing.  
 It happened that one night the Ratu Ageng had a dream,  
 and heard a voice [which said]:

"Ratu Ageng, Ratu Kantjana  
 must marry a Wali Wuḍar<sup>118</sup>  
 whose dwelling is northwest of this place.  
 If this is not done,  
 Java will be devastated  
 and your life will be forfeit."  
 It happened thus

---

116. From the Arabic khaṭīb. There would be several Ketib to assist the Penghulu in the execution of his duties.

117. According to Louw (De Java-oorlog, I, p. 132) the matter of this appointment is not mentioned in the European sources but figures prominently in the Javanese accounts.

118. In Javanese, the word wali has three main meanings: 1) the guardian of a minor; 2) the person whose consent is necessary for the marriage of a girl or woman (i.e., her father, grandfather, brother, or uncle); and 3) specifically the first preachers of Islam on Java, usually numbered at nine (wali sanga), which include such figures as Sunan Kali-Djaga, Sunan Giri, Sunan Bonang, and Sunan Gunung Djati. These three meanings are derived from the Arabic walī. Wuḍar (uḍar) has the meaning of "loose, open, released." For the possible interpretations of wali wuḍar, see below.

three times,  
and the voice spoke always the same words.  
The Ratu Ageng was exceedingly afraid.

As the voice had spoken so many times, and was always the  
same,

the Ratu Ageng sent for  
Pangéran Mangkubumi.  
When he had come to the kraton  
and met the Ratu, she said politely:  
"Prince, what will you have me do?  
I have heard  
a voice, when I was sleeping,  
and it has happened three times,  
and was always the same.

p. 102

[The voice says] that Ratu Kantjana  
must be married  
to Pangéran Dipanagara,<sup>119</sup>  
and if this is not done  
Java will be brought to ruin  
and my days in this world will be ended.<sup>120</sup>  
What is the right thing for me to do?  
I leave it to your judgment."

Pangéran Mangkubumi smiled,  
and said gently: "Indeed, it would be most fitting  
if he is willing.  
If he is not willing  
it will be most shameful.  
Who would dare to compel him?"  
The Ratu said softly:  
"What shall I do then, Prince?  
I shall certainly die  
and Jogjakarta be ruined."

The Prince said gently:  
"If you agree,  
I will send my wife to him.  
If he has no objection, it will be easily done,  
and if he objects, there will be no shame in it,  
for it will seem as if it were only a joke.<sup>121</sup>  
I fear him greatly."  
The Ratu Ageng said quietly:  
"Indeed, who would dare [to compel him],"

Then Pangéran Mangkubumi  
sent for his wife,  
Radèn Aju Sepuh,  
for Radèn Aju Sepuh  
was one person who dared to make jokes

---

119. Two lines condensed into one.

120. Two lines condensed into one.

121. Two lines condensed into one.

with the Prince.  
 Her husband explained what had happened<sup>122</sup>  
 and she set out for Tegalredja. When she arrived,  
 it happened that the Prince

was sitting with his wife.  
 Radèn Aju Sepuh smiled, and said:  
 "Let us suppose  
 that your wife  
 should be given a pair,  
 of the same age  
 and beauty.  
 They would be like Ratih<sup>123</sup> and Supraba.  
 How I should like to see it!"  
 The Prince smiled

- p. 103 and immediately embraced the one who had been likened to  
 Ratih,  
 drawing her close to him.  
 He said, smiling:  
 "My ruby, she is talking in her sleep,  
 for she sleeps sitting up."  
 Radèn Aju Sepuh, hearing this,  
 cast him a surly glance,  
 and said crossly:  
 "What you say is most annoying!  
 I sit here [talking to you] and you say I am asleep!"

The Prince said gently:  
 "Where will you find the like  
 of my dear mistress,  
 God's bounty  
 sent down from heaven,  
 jewel among the women  
 of the land of Java,  
 who has come down to Tegalredja  
 and been bestowed upon me.  
 It is a lie to say

that there is any woman her equal!"  
 Radèn Aju Sepuh said crossly:  
 "You are making me more and more angry!  
 I am going home."  
 Then she returned [to the kraton] and we tell no more of her.  
 Now we tell  
 that the Prince happened  
 to go down to the kraton.  
 In the company of Pangéran Mangkubumi  
 he was sitting in the *bangsal kantjana*<sup>124</sup>

---

122. Two lines condensed into one.

123. Ratih is the wife of Kāma.

124. The gold balé. I am not sure what part of the kraton this  
 would have been.

together with the Ratu Ageng.  
 The Prince asked their leave  
 to go to the eastern kraton  
 to see Ratu Emas<sup>125</sup>  
 who had a slight illness.  
 When the Prince had gone  
 the Ratu Ageng  
 and Pangéran Mangkubumi  
 discussed the problem of the dream.<sup>126</sup>

"When he returns,  
 I would like you to tell him  
 all about the dream.  
 Perhaps then  
 he will have pity on the realm.  
 I have already sent  
 my wife,  
 Radèn Aju Sepuh, who went to meet him.  
 But he only made fun of her."<sup>127</sup>

Not long afterwards the Prince returned,  
 and the three of them sat down together.  
 The Ratu Ageng spoke to him  
 about the dream  
 p. 104 which had given her an anxious heart.  
 When it was all told,  
 the Prince said gently:  
 "It seems to me, indeed,  
 that this is only a trial.  
 If it is truly a warning

and it comes again in the future,  
 you should say that the voice must come  
 to me."  
 The Ratu Ageng said gently:  
 "So be it: I have told you,  
 and whether you follow it or not,  
 I have unburdened the commission placed upon me."<sup>128</sup>  
 The Prince was inwardly disturbed  
 about the significance of "Wali Wuḍar;"

he did not show this, but smiled, and asked  
 his uncle: "Kjai, what is the meaning  
 of Wali Wuḍar?"  
 Pangéran Mangkubumi  
 smiled, and said sweetly:  
 "The interpretation of 'Wali Wuḍar'  
 is: one who fails as a Wali."  
 Pangéran Dipanagara,  
 hearing this, was increasingly disturbed,  
 feeling shamed before God.

125. The text has "ingkang ibu / Ratu Emas," which is to say that  
 in age and nature of relationship she was like a mother to him.

126. The last four lines of this stanza have been reduced to three.

127. Two lines condensed into one.

128. Two lines condensed into one.



After this they took leave of one another,  
 and the Prince returned to Tegalredja.  
 When he arrived there,  
 he did not even call at the house,  
 but went on to Sêlaradja,  
 feeling greatly shamed before God.  
 He entered the building there  
 and for three days  
 he did not ask for the Koran to be read nor did he come out  
 onto the verandah.  
 The Penghulu understood [that something had happened]

guessing that the Prince was greatly troubled.  
 So the Penghulu  
 sought audience with him. It happened  
 that the Prince was sitting  
 in front of the building,  
 on a shining stone,  
 which was sheltered by  
 a *kumuning*<sup>129</sup> tree and ringed by a moat.  
 He was on an island planted with banyan trees,  
 and ornamental plants of many kinds.

In front of the house a large pond curved round.  
 Its water was clear, and it held many fishes  
 of different kinds.

By the door<sup>130</sup> there was a *sirih* garden.

The Penghulu said sweetly:

"My lord, what is the reason

I see you so sorrowful?

p. 105 Indeed, you have been thus since you returned  
 from the kraton." The Prince said gently:

"Ki Penghulu, I

am greatly shamed before the Almighty."

He explained the whole matter

of the Ratu Ageng's dream,

and its interpretation

by Pangéran Mangkubumi,

which was the cause of his sorrow.

The Penghulu smiled,

and said:

"The real interpretation of 'Wali Wuḍar' is otherwise:

it means a Wali who has two offices

for God has given to him power to administer justice.

That is its significance.

To give an example:

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129. According to de Clercq (Nieuw Plantkundig Woordenboek, p. 285)  
 this is Murraya exotica, a tree with beautiful white flowers  
 which are worn by women in their hair. Its yellow wood is used  
 for carving.

130. The text reads kori. Louw's translation reads "aan de  
linkerzijde" (kəri).

among the 124,000 Nabi<sup>131</sup>  
 those who may be called 'wuḏar'  
 are only six.  
 These give expression to God's will,  
 and are Nabi Adam, Nabi Nuh, Nabi Ibrahim,  
 and fourthly Nabi Musa;

then Nabi Ngisa. The sixth and last  
 is Nabi Muhammad.<sup>132</sup>  
 To give examples from Java  
 of 'Wali Wuḏar,'  
 they are Sunan Giri,<sup>133</sup>  
 and your ancestor,  
 Sultan Agung,<sup>134</sup>  
 for these held a double office,  
 and were beloved of God. As for you yourself, my lord,  
 God knows

what He shall will for you in the future."  
 The Prince recalled  
 the time when he had met  
 the Ratu Adil.  
 He thought to himself:  
 "So it is already fixed:  
 I cannot avoid it."  
 But he did not say this aloud,  
 but only smiled, and said gently:  
 "Praise be to God.

In this world, men have nothing to do  
 but wait till they be given  
 some great task."  
 The Penghulu said:  
 "Indeed, my lord, if we are equal to it,  
 that is the most excellent thing,  
 a boon indeed."  
 The Prince said:  
 "Let us pray to the Almighty  
 that it will come to a good conclusion."

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131. This is an extraordinarily large figure. Surah VI (84-87) of the Koran lists only 18 Nabi and elsewhere the number is given as 20.
132. The English names for these six are: Adam, Noah, Abraham, Moses, Jesus, and Muhammad.
133. In the Babad Tanah Djawi story of the conquest of Madjapahit by Radèn Patah, later Sēnapati Djimbun of Demak (Olthof, Poenika Serat Babad Tanah Djawi, p. 29f.), Sunan Giri is said to have reigned for 40 days before Sēnapati Djimbun's accession "to remove all traces of an infidel ruler" (the last king of Madjapahit). Thus he had wielded temporal power.
134. Sunan of Mataram (1613-1646). He obtained the title of Sultan from Mecca and introduced the Muslim calendar (in its peculiar Javanese form). He is not, however, usually listed among the Javanese wali, and his reign was after the djaman kawalèn (the age of the apostles of Islam).

p. 106 We say no more of this:  
 The Prince's heart was restored,  
 and he prayed with an undivided mind.  
 In the morning  
 the Prince would come out onto the verandah  
 and join the Penghulu  
 in reciting the Koran.<sup>135</sup>  
 Now it happened  
 that during the fast month the Prince went away  
 to the Setjang cave.

And to lighten his mood  
 he would wander through the gardens  
 by the cave.  
 Now it happened  
 that the Prince was once sitting  
 beneath a banyan tree.  
 It was after the midday prayer,  
 and the garden where he sat was called Modar.<sup>136</sup>  
 He heard a voice, distant but clear [which said]:  
 "Oh Ngabdulkamit!

Receive now a title  
 from the Lord of all things!  
 You will be Sultan Ngabdulkamit,  
 Erutjakra, Sajidin,  
 Panatagama of Java,  
 Caliph of the Prophet of God--  
 blessing and peace be upon him!"<sup>137</sup>  
 Then the voice was heard no more.  
 After the sunset prayer, the Prince returned  
 to the Setjang cave.

When the *trawèh*<sup>138</sup> prayers were finished, the Prince emerged  
 and sat on a shining stone.  
 To the right and to the left  
 he was attended  
 by two retainers:  
 Puṭut Lawa  
 and Puṭut Gurit;  
 Botjak-butjik and Suradana.  
 Muhjidin and Wirjasemit  
 were still in the kitchen.

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135. The text reads darus Kuran, done in this case as part of the observance of the fast month. These two lines are reversed in the translation.

136. Louw's text has Modang (De Java-oorlog, I, p. 136).

137. Louw gives Brandes' interpretation of Érutjakra as "jewel of the world" (èru being a kawi form of sosotya and tjakra derived from the Sanskrit cakra). Sajidin is from the Arabic Sayyid ("lord," used for the descendants of Muhammad). Panatagama means "regulator of religion." Sajidin and Panatagama were part of the title of Sēnapati, founder of Mataram according to the Babad Tanah Djawi account, and are still used in the title of the Sunan of Solo

138. Prayers held in the fast month after the ngisa prayer in the early part of the night.

It was the twenty-seventh day [of the fast month],  
and the year was BÉ.<sup>139</sup> When they had eaten,  
the Prince went to sleep  
on the shining stone.  
The two Puṭut kept watch,  
but in a while they both fell asleep  
at his feet.  
Now the Prince  
dreamt that he was not at the cave,  
but at Sēlaradja,

p. 107 sitting on the shining stone,  
on the island of the banyans.  
Then all at once eight men came,  
wearing turbans with the end hanging behind.  
The first of them bore a letter  
which he held aloft in both hands.  
The Prince looked,  
then went to meet them, saluting them,  
awestruck, for the radiance of the eight  
was like that of the full moon.

The Prince stood before them in respectful greeting,  
but they did not heed him,  
going straight to the pond.  
The Prince followed.  
They stood on the edge,  
five on the east  
and three on the south.  
The Prince joined those  
on the south, making four.  
Then all of them moved towards the north.

Those on the east stood facing westwards.  
The one who bore the letter was in front,  
and the others on either side.  
Then he read out  
the letter, and the sound was the same  
as the voice of the proclamation.<sup>140</sup>  
It said: "This is His Highness  
Sultan Ngabdulkamit  
Erutjakra, Sajidin,  
Panatagama

Caliph of the Prophet of God  
over the land of Java."  
[The other seven] answered together:  
"On him be peace!"<sup>141</sup>  
The one who had read the letter reprimanded them:

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139. The sixth year of the windu cycle.

140. The text reads uṇḍang. Louw's text has moḍang, so that the line reads: ". . . as the voice at Moḍang [Moḍar]," which makes better sense.

141. The text reads ngalaihi'salamu from the Arabic alai-hi's-satam (this is said after the name of a Nabi other than Muhammad).

"That is not the right response!"  
 Those he had reprimanded asked:  
 "What is it then, Panembahan?"  
 and he replied:  
 "You have created a point of difference

by your response, my young friends!  
 But let that be:  
 the only response is the Takbir."<sup>142</sup>  
 Then all eight of them  
 recited the Takbir together,  
 joined by the Prince.<sup>143</sup>  
 After this the letter  
 was let fall into the pond. It sank into the water  
 and disappeared from sight.

The eight men vanished  
 from where they had been standing,  
 like smoke, without trace.  
 The Prince  
 was left standing alone.  
 When it was [almost] morning,  
 p. 108 the Prince was awoken  
 by Puṭut Lawa,  
 and they took the *saur* meal<sup>144</sup> and made the dawn  
 prayer together.  
 We say no more of this.

Afterwards [the Prince] returned to Tegalredja.  
 We tell of what happened  
 after he arrived at Sélaradja.<sup>145</sup>  
 The Penghulu had heard  
 that the Prince  
 was sought by the Dutch.<sup>146</sup>  
 The news came from Semarang and was quite clear.  
 So the Penghulu

sought an audience at Sélaradja  
 with the Prince, who happened to be sitting  
 on the shining stone.  
 The Penghulu said:  
 "My lord, I have received  
 news from Semarang  
 about which there is no doubt.  
 They want you,

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142. The recital of the Arabic formula, Allāhu Akbar (God is Great).

143. Two lines condensed into one.

144. The meal during the fast month taken in the last watches of the night before day breaks.

145. These two lines are reversed in the translation.

146. Two lines condensed into one.

and already large numbers of soldiers  
have arrived in Semarang.<sup>147</sup>

What will you do  
if it happens as I have heard?"  
The Prince smiled, and answered:  
"What would be the right thing to do?  
I have done no wrong.  
If what you say is true,  
then heaven will be most welcome to me,  
and I shall seek a way thither.  
Moreover, do you not remember  
the dream of the Ratu Ageng?

Perhaps this is the explanation of it--  
it was you who interpreted it for me before.  
In truth, I have committed no sin,  
but if men intend to wrong me  
I am not afraid."  
The Penghulu said,  
with bowed head and overflowing tears:<sup>148</sup>  
"You are right, if the revelation is fulfilled.  
I believe

that God's will shall be done,  
but let it not be by war."  
The Prince said:  
"What is the right thing to do?"  
The Penghulu said gently:  
"My lord, if the news is indeed correct<sup>149</sup>  
it is best that you suffer  
all the ill treatment that the Dutch intend for you,  
as did your grandfather,

p. 109

Sultan<sup>150</sup> Sepuh, in former times,  
in order that there should be no devastation.  
But should God decree  
that you are not free to choose which way you will take

147. Here the text is far from explicit. Why should the Dutch have been after D. Pangerana? Certainly his conduct had exhibited nothing of the amiability usually expected from their Javanese allies: he had disallowed the appointment of the Collectors, favored by the Resident, and later had strongly objected to putting his seal on a financial document on the grounds that this was merely "selling his name." It is interesting to note that the news of the intentions of the Dutch is said here to have come before the building of the road, usually cited as the immediate cause of the war (see e.g., F.W. Stapel, Geschiedenis van Nederlandsch Indie [Amsterdam: J. M. Meulenhoff, 1930], p. 265; de Klerck, History of the Netherlands East Indies, II, p. 163).

148. Two lines condensed into one.

149. Two lines condensed into one.

150. Amangkubuwana II. The text has Sinuhun Sepuh, but the rulers of Jogjakarta are usually referred to by their title of Sultan.

I should not be deterred  
by the fear of suffering or death,  
but remain with you.  
But if the way is war  
I cannot help you, for I am an old man.  
Yet how could I leave you alone?"

The Prince smiled, and said quietly:  
"I prefer the way of war,  
for to die thus gives us good fame."  
The Penghulu said:  
"If that is your wish, my lord,  
I ask your leave to depart,  
for I cannot bear to see it.  
I will make the pilgrimage to Mecca."  
The Prince smiled and said gently:  
"That is most fitting,

and I am glad of it. Let us make an agreement:  
when you arrive in Mecca,  
you must not return [after the pilgrimage],  
but remain there the rest of your days.  
When I am successful,  
tell the news there.  
And seek for me  
the prayers of all the Iman,  
that I may obtain the intercession of the Prophet,  
and the favor of Allah<sup>151</sup>

to strengthen me in waging war on the infidels.  
And fervent be your prayers  
as you bow before the Ka'bah  
beseech the Lord  
that all may go well, and Java  
serve the true religion.  
Kjai, if indeed  
we are aided by God,  
you may speedily return!"  
The Penghulu said:

"Be it as you say. I ask your beneficent thoughts  
that I may be enabled to reach  
the holy Ka'bah."  
The Prince said sweetly:  
"Indeed, you have all my good wishes  
that it may be permitted  
of God, who is Great."  
We tell no more of this:  
Kjai Rahmanudin<sup>152</sup> took his leave  
of all those of high rank

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151. This is one of the few places where the author uses the Arabic word for God. More commonly used are Jang Suksma (the Soul), Jang Widi (The All-Disposer), and Jang Purba (The First).

152. From the Arabic Rahmān ul-Dīn. This is the Penghulu's name.

p. 110 and set out to Semarang.  
 No more is said of the Penghulu.  
 At Tegalredja,  
 the Prince was exceedingly melancholy,<sup>153</sup>  
 for he had heard news  
 which was to him as if  
 the very sky had fallen  
 But he resolved that he would not flinch,  
 taking refuge in God alone.

So all his melancholy vanished  
 and he looked forward to death.  
 And Sang Retna too  
 had determined that she would share  
 her husband's lot, from the beginning to the end.  
 Now it happened  
 that the beginning was thus:  
 the Tegalredja region  
 was staked out, and [the Prince] not notified.  
 The intention was to make a highway.

Thus was it God's will  
 that the devastation of Java  
 should be caused by this.  
 Now we tell  
 that the Prince remained  
 inside the building at Sélaradja.  
 It happened one day  
 that after the midday prayer  
 the Prince went out  
 and visited the rice fields

outside Sélaradja.  
 These fields were called Muntru<sup>154</sup>  
 and there was a place to sit at the edge,  
 encircled by a pond.  
 He sat beneath the shade  
 of a *soka* tree,<sup>155</sup>  
 attended by Ki Soban.  
 At that time  
 the Prince was forty-two<sup>156</sup> years old.<sup>157</sup>

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153. Two lines condensed into one.

154. Louw's text has Mantra (De Java-oorlog, I, p. 138).

155. According to de Clercq (p. 261), this is Ixora coccinea, the redflowered "flame tree of the woods."

156. This does not agree with statements of Dipanagara's age given earlier in the text.

157. Two lines condensed into one.



He was startled to see  
 a crowd of people,  
 and asked quietly:  
 "Soban, why is there such a crowd?"<sup>158</sup>  
 Soban said with a sembah:  
 "They have all come  
 to construct a highway,  
 having been sent by the Patih  
 three days since.

p. 111 It seems that Tegalredja is finished, my lord,  
 for the making of this highway.  
 They are going to divide it into six--  
 it has already been staked out.  
 The Prince's anger knew no bounds  
 when he heard what Ki Soban said,<sup>159</sup>  
 and he at once sent Brandjang Kawat  
 to fetch his Patih,  
 Mas Ngabèi Mangunardja.

Mangunardja arrived shortly afterwards,  
 and the Prince said:  
 "Mangunardja,  
 tell me about this highway,  
 that it has happened in this manner!"  
 Mangunardja said with a sembah:  
 "Your servant dares not say [what has happened],<sup>160</sup>  
 for he was not informed, my lord."<sup>161</sup>

Indeed, I heard the news  
 from your peasants,  
 but I have not been notified,  
 and so I dare not say."  
 The Prince spoke again:  
 "If that is so,  
 send them away,  
 and if you cannot, pull up [the stakes]."  
 Mangunardja said that he would do so and withdrew.  
 Afterwards he met

the [Jogjakarta] Patih's man,  
 and told him to withdraw the laborers.  
 He answered that he dared not, for fear of the Resident,<sup>162</sup>  
 so then Mangunardja  
 ordered his men to pull out  
 all the stakes--  
 north, south, east, and west,  
 they were all pulled out.  
 Then Radèn Brangtakusuma, whom the [Jogjakarta] Patih had sent

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158. Two lines condensed into one.

159. Two lines condensed into one.

160. Two lines condensed into one.

161. Two lines condensed into one.

162. Two lines condensed into one.

arrived together with some village headmen, and the *ganḍèk*<sup>163</sup>  
 Dutawidjaja,  
 bringing stakes and rakes.  
 Their krisses were seized  
 by the village people  
 of Timpéjan;<sup>164</sup>  
 Radèn Brangtakusuma  
 was not able to escape.  
 Then they were all chased off,  
 and they returned to inform the Patih,  
 who was angered,

and ordered that the road be closed<sup>165</sup>  
 at Djagalan.

This was the road to Jogjakarta.  
 When this became known  
 p. 112 [the Prince] ordered that it be opened again.  
 When the men left after reopening the road,  
 it was again blocked off.  
 This happened three times:  
 first the road would be opened, and then blocked again.  
 The Prince was told

that they kept on blocking the road.  
 [Mangunardja said:] "What shall I do, my lord?  
 It is at night that they block the road,  
 during the day they do not dare,  
 for we keep watch.  
 But as soon as we go home  
 it is blocked again."  
 This angered the Prince:  
 "If it be so, Mangunardja, it seems there is now  
 no going back."

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163. A kraton messenger, usually a person of some rank.

164. Timpéjan and Djagalan are not listed in Dumont's Aardrijkskundig Woordenboek.

165. On the matter of the blocking of the road, Louw (De Java-oorlog, I, p. 139) cites a Chevallier's report that repair work on the Jogjakarta road had proceeded up to the boundary of Dipanagara's estate, and concludes that the road had been closed off while this work was in process. Here, however, it appears as the casus belli; presumably the implication is that the road had been closed by the Dutch in order to trap and take Dipanagara. (Louw comments: "Hoe dikwijls zagen wij niet een voorwendsel aangrijpen om tot een oorlog te geraken, die veel diepere oorzaken had. Alles had Dipanegara tot opstand aangezet, eindelijk gaf hij zich aan zijn noodlot over.") What, above all, distinguishes Dipanagara's opstand from previous ones is that it is not a war of succession. This is clear not only from Dipanagara's own statements (as his speech to the Penghulu) but also from the logistics of the situation; as a Regent he enjoyed as much power as he would have had on the throne, and the limits of his freedom were not set by the six year-old Sultan.